

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T AMMAN 7928

EXDIS

FOR NEA ATHERTON AND INR SAUNDERS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, PLO, XF
SUBJECT: PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION AT GENEVA

REF: 1964 CAIRO A-119: "PALESTINIAN NATIONAL CONFERENCE"

SUMMARY: THE 1964 PALESTINE NATIONAL CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS
IS ONE OF BEST SOURCES WE KNOW OF REPRESENTATIVE PALESTINIANS,
INCLUDING PLO AND NON-PLO TYPES. TOGETHER WITH LIST OF WEST
BANK MAYORS, IT MIGHT BE EXCELLENT BASIS FROM WHICH POSSIBLE
NAMES OF PALESTINIAN PARTICIPANTS AT GENEVA COULD BE SELECTED.
END SUMMARY

1. WE ARE NOT FULLY ABREAST OF THE STATUS OF THE CONTINUING
EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE QUESTION OF PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION
AT GENEVA, BUT WE THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE WORTHWHILE TO THROW
THE FOLLOWING IDEA INTO THE HOPPER, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF
CONTINUING U.S. INTEREST IN DEVELOPING
BROADLY REPRESENTATIVE CHARACTER OF THE PALESTINIAN COMMUNITY,
AIMED AT SELF-DETERMINATION.

2. IN OUR IN-HOUSE SEARCH LAST YEAR TO FIND A LARGER
AND MORE MODERATE AND "LEGITIMATE" PALESTINIAN BODY

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POLITIC THAN THE PLO AND THAT MIGHT HAVE GREATER ACCEPTABILITY
TO ISRAEL, WE REQUESTED AND RECEIVED FROM THE DEPT (INR/OIL) A
LIST OF THE ORIGINAL PARTICIPANTS OF THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL
CONFERENCE HELD IN JERUSALEM MAY 28 - JUNE 2, 1964.
(CAIRO AIRGRAM A-119 OF 1964). THIS WAS THE FIRST
CONVOCAION OF REPRESENTATIVE PALESTINIANS SINCE THE
FORMATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL AND, IN AT LEAST A

PRACTICAL SENSE, THIS BODY COULD BE CONSIDERED AS BROADLY REPRESENTATIVE OF INTERESTS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE PALESTINIAN COMMUNITY. (FACT THAT MILITANT PLO LATER EMERGED FROM POLITICAL PROCESS THIS CONVOCATION STARTED SHOULD NOT DETRACT FROM THE 1964 PNC'S REPRESENTATIVE CHARACTER.)

3. THIS DOCUMENT IS NOTEWORTHY FOR FACT THAT IT CONTAINS A LIST OF SEVERAL HUNDRED PALESTINIANS, DRAWN FROM ALL AREAS OF ARAB WORLD, INCLUDING WEST BANK AND GAZA, AND (UNLIKE THE CURRENT PLO-DOMINATED PALESTINIAN NATIONAL CONFERENCE) EMBRACING A BROAD RANGE OF POLITICAL OPINION: EVERYONE FROM HARD-CORE CURRENT PLO LEADERS SUCH AS YASIR ARAFAT, KHALID AL HASAN, FARUQ QADOUMI, SHAFIQ AL HOUT AND REJECTIONISTS LIKE AHMAD JIBRIL, TO CRYPTO-PLO INTELLECTUALS SUCH AS ALFRED TOUBASI AND WALID QAMHAWI, TO PROMINENT WEST BANK PERSONALITIES SUCH AS HIKMAT AL MASRI AND ANWAR NUSEIBAH, TO RESIDENT JORDANIAN POLITICAL PERSONALITIES SUCH AS SENATOR AHMAD KHALIL AND AHMAD TOUQAN.

4. LIST ALSO INCLUDES SCORES OF PALESTINIANS OF NO PARTICULAR POLITICAL IDEOLOGY BUT WHO APPEARED TO REPRESENT A CROSS-SECTION (AT THE TIME AND TO CONSIDERABLE EXTENT ALSO TODAY) OF PROMINENT PALESTINIAN PERSONALITIES THROUGHOUT THE ARAB WORLD. IN FACT, THERE WAS ATTEMPT TO LIST THEM AS REPRESENTING VARIOUS PALESTINIAN
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COMMUNITIES IN ARAB WORLD, FROM GULF TO LIBYA.

5. POSSIBLE USEFULNESS OF LIST IN CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES DERIVES FROM FACT THAT: (A) GIVEN ITS DIVERSITY, IT COULD SERVE AS A SOURCE OF NAMES OF PALESTINIAN PARTICIPANTS AT GENEVA WHO COULD, FOR LACK OF ANY MORE "LEGITIMATE" SUBSEQUENT PALESTINIAN CONVENTION, BE CONSIDERED BROADLY REPRESENTATIVE OF PALESTINIAN COMMUNITY, AS OPPOSED TO THE MORE MILITANT AND NARROWLY BASED PLO. AT THE SAME TIME, THE LIST INCLUDES MANY CURRENT PLO MEMBERS AND SYMPATHIZERS AND HENCE DOES NOT, AB INITIO, EXCLUDE SUCH PERSONS FROM CONSIDERATION AS ALSO BEING ELIGIBLE AS REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BROADER PALESTINIAN COMMUNITY (ALTHOUGH WE RECOGNIZE THE PROBLEMS THE CURRENT ISRAELI GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE WITH SUCH PLO REPRESENTATIVES). IN FINAL ANALYSIS, WE THINK THIS LIST IS A DOCUMENT, FAUTE DE MIEUX, OF PERHAPS SOME LEGITIMACY THAT COULD PROVIDE THE BEGINNING OF A BASIS FOR SELECTION OF PALESTINIAN PARTICIPANTS AT GENEVA OR AT LEAST A REASONABLE STARTING POINT.

6. WE RECOGNIZE U.S. INTERVENTION AT THIS POINT OT

SUGGEST NAMES OF PALESTINIANS COULD WELL BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE IN OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH BOTH ARABS AND ISRAELIS. HOWEVER, IN THE UNPREDICTABLE COURSE OF DELIBERATION ON PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION ISSUE, WE BELIEVE IT USEFUL FOR USG TO REALIZE THIS DOCUMENT EXISTS AND THAT IT COULD POSSIBLY BE USEFUL AS NOTED ABOVE.

7. GIVEN THE FACT THAT WEST BANK MAYORS ARE NOT INCLUDED IN THE LIST, IT WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY HAVE TO BE EXPANDED IN THAT AREA IF IT WERE TO BE AN ADEQUATE LIST FOR TODAY'S PURPOSES.
PICKERING

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